



South Vietnamese mother and children flee into stream to escape U.S. bombs being rained on their village.

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From a GI in Vietnam

The following letter was sent by a soldier in south Vietnam to his friend, John P., in New York.

February 1

Dear John,

Hope you are well. I am fine. I received your letter yesterday and I will try and answer your questions the best I can.

I am more than a little tense. I am scared stiff. They say that two or three thousand Communist Chinese just moved in about 300 meters from us. They are just waiting for them to attack right now. There is only 250 of us so we are really outnumbered. They moved in about five o'clock last night but there has just been sniper fire so far. They have a lot of mortars with them and I built a bunker with a wood top out of the C ration boxes. I thought they would hit us last night but nothing happened.

They wanted us to carry C rations on our back to the troops across an open field last night.

About 15 minutes before we were to leave the V.C. shot the whole field up. We would have been right in the middle of it and probably some of us killed for sure.

They just told me now that we might have to go on the front line tonight to give the other guys a break. Us cooks are seeing more action than the regular infantrymen. I can't see how we'll live through a year of this. It is really hell. The heat is murder to over 110 degrees every day.

To answer your question. The people don't cheer us at all. They don't even want us here. When we go by they give us a dirty look. They are so poor that they don't care if the Communists take over because things couldn't get worse for them than they are already. I don't know if they kill any women or children but there are a lot of innocent south Vietnamese killed and homes burned because they think they are V.C. (Continued on Page 2)

Stop the War Now—Bring the GIs Home!

With the Vietnam war escalating steadily, the American people must face the issue of what they have been dragged into. Even the heaviest propaganda barrage can no longer conceal the fact that U. S. armed forces are waging a genocidal war against the great mass of the people of Vietnam — a people whose sympathy and support are clearly with the guerrilla forces that the U. S. government is so determined to crush.

It is precisely because the people are with the guerrillas that the U. S. has been compelled to steadily increase its commitment. The Saigon government cannot find sufficient soldiers willing to fight and die for its tyrannical dictatorship. When dragooned into the army they desert in mass (some 25 percent last year alone.)

In sharp contrast, the guerrilla fighters of the National Liberation Front have shown a remarkable capacity for waging an effective fight against a force with far superior military resources. The continuing inability of the beefed-up U.S.-Saigon forces to crush the guerrillas is testimony to the fact that these are highly motivated men and women. They fight like tigers because they have something to fight for — independence, land and liberty.

That's why the U. S. forces had to take over this horrifying war against the civilian population. The guerrillas are an integral part of

the people and the only way the U. S. forces can get at them is to bomb and burn entire civilian areas. The extent of this barbarism is indicated by the fact that there are already nearly a million civilian refugees in that devastated country.

Meanwhile, the U. S. casualties are mounting and, if the war-mad Johnson administration is given a free hand, they will mount even more sharply.

American boys are killing and being killed in a bloody war of oppression that is earning us the same world hatred that the German people were branded with under Hitler. And it isn't enough to tell the rest of the world that the American people didn't ask for this war. It isn't enough to tell them the young men who are doing the bombing, strafing and burning are now mainly draftees who didn't ask to be sent there.

The American people must demonstrate by deeds to the people of Vietnam and the people of the world that they don't want their hands stained with innocent blood; that they don't want young Americans sacrificing their lives for a reactionary cause in which they have no stake.

For the sake of the American boys fighting and dying in Vietnam; for the sake of their Vietnamese victims; for the sake of humanity; raise your voice and demand: Stop the war now! Bring the GIs home!

Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 21 A CON MAN?

Malcolm: A lot of people have warned me about the *Village Voice*. It's supposed to be a liberal paper, but they say it is very narrow.

Marlene Nadle: Some people on the staff think you're a con man.

Malcolm: If I wanted to be just a con man, I wouldn't be fool enough to try it on these streets where people are looking for my life, where I can't walk around after dark. If I wanted power, I could have gone anywhere in the world. They offered me jobs in all the African countries.

Muhammad is the man, with his house in Phoenix, his \$200 suits, and his harem. He didn't believe in the black state or in getting anything for the people. That's why I got out. (From Marlene Nadle's article, "Malcolm X: The Complexity of a Man in the Jungle," *Village Voice*, Feb. 25, 1965.)

Not Afraid of Investigation

Malcolm was asked if he would dare to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities the same things he had just told a meeting in New York.

Malcolm: I would welcome an opportunity to defend anything you ever hear me say — to anyone, anywhere, at any time. I'll go there without being called. The only thing is: You don't question me behind closed doors. Keep it public, and I'll take anything you can throw. Keep it out in public.

Frankly, I don't think there is a committee in Washington, D.C., that can defend itself when it comes to the race problem in this country. You are taken to Washington when they are trying to connect you with a foreign power. They treat black people in this country like we're foreigners. If we get connected with ourselves we're supposed to be subversive.

No, brother, I never worry about any kind of investigation. I think that our cause is just. And I think that our patience has been suffi-



Malcolm X

cient up to now to justify showing some impatience. We're justified. As I said earlier, both Johnson and Humphrey, when they wake up every morning, should thank God, whatever God they believe in, that black people have shown the patience that we've shown, or the ignorance that we've displayed. They should thank God, and they should try to do something about it before the impatience increases. (Militant Labor Forum, New York, Jan. 7, 1965.)

On Racism

Malcolm was asked the difference between white racism and black racism.

Malcolm: Usually the black racist has been produced by the white racist. In most cases where you see it, it is the reaction to white racism, and if you analyze it closely, it's not really black racism. I think black people have shown less racist tendencies than any people since the beginning of history.

If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that's not black racism. If you come to put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism. Yours is racism, but my reaction has nothing to do with racism. My reaction is the reaction of a human being, reacting to defend himself and protect himself. This is what our people haven't done, and some of them, at least at the high academic level, don't want to. But most of us aren't at that level. (Harvard Law School Forum, Dec. 16, 1964.)

Question: What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?

Malcolm: Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression.

If the entire American population were properly educated — by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man — I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being. Knowing what the black man's contributions to science and civilization have been in the past, the white man's feelings of superiority would be at least partially negated. Also, the feeling of inferiority that the black man has would be replaced by a balanced knowledge of himself. He'd feel more like a human being. He'd function more like a human being, in a society of human beings.

So it takes education to eliminate it. And just because you have colleges and universities, doesn't mean you have education. The colleges and universities in the American educational system are skillfully used to miseducate. (From interview on Jan. 11, 1965, printed in *Young Socialist*, March-April, 1965.)

Next week: **Intermarriage and a Black State**

CHARLEY KEEPS LIGHTING THE FUSE

The Watts Powder Keg

By Herman Porter

MARCH 21 — In the summer of 1964 there were a series of social explosions in the black ghettos of many of the large Northern cities. They were generally provoked by incidents of police brutality, and were mainly defensive actions where the residents of the ghettos fought off police assaults with bricks and bottles.

In the summer of 1965 the struggle reached proportions of a revolt in Watts lasting for some six days. This explosion was also set off by an incident of police brutality. It ended with 34 dead, hundreds injured and thousands jailed, and some \$40 million worth of property destroyed.

On March 15, 1966 another clash occurred in Watts (see page 8).

These events constitute a serious warning to even the most dull-witted that black people are fed up with the inhuman conditions they are forced to live in and are growing more and more ready to fight for their freedom by any means necessary.

Unemployment rates suffered by Negroes in many ghettos are four or five times the rate suffered by whites nationally. It is estimated that one-third of the men in Watts were unemployed last August when the uprising occurred. The income of black families is little more than half that of whites on the average. Segregated housing is greatly overcrowded and dilapidated.

These conditions would take vast programs to rectify. They are not unique to Watts, but typical of a great many ghettos in the North and South.

Yet the government has done nothing serious to alleviate, let alone fundamentally change, the conditions in Watts. Though there were some "war on poverty" projects initiated, even these totally inadequate measures were bogged down in local politics and most have not yet been carried out.

Blame Negroes

The attitude of the people who run this country toward the situation in Watts and the other ghettos was expressed quite plainly by John A. McCone, whose statements on the recent Watts disturbance were reported in the March 17 *New York Times*. McCone is the chairman of the California governor's commission that investigated the August uprising. He is also a Los Angeles industrialist and the former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, so he speaks as an authoritative spokesman of America's rulers on this question.

McCone "placed primary blame



John A. McCone

for the continuing bitterness and frustrations in Watts on the Negro community itself," the *Times* reports. The former CIA man said he was satisfied with the pace of implementation of the McCone commission's recommendations in such areas as employment, education and law enforcement.

Referring to the recent events in Watts McCone said: "I'm afraid this is one more evidence of an unwillingness by Negroes to accept responsibilities as law-abiding citizens of our community. Until this changes, it's going to be very difficult for anyone in the community to change things."

Reinforce Police

"We stated not once but several times that unless Negroes resolve to help themselves, no amount of action or money spent by the community will be of any avail," McCone said.

The racist program implicit in McCone's statements, the one that is being carried out, is simply to reinforce the police to be prepared to move in more quickly and with greater force to crush any protest in the ghetto. McCone's remark about being satisfied with the improvement in law enforcement was not a reference to the institution of a police review board made up of ghetto residents or to any attempts to end the particularly vicious harassment of people by the Los Angeles police. Nothing like that has happened. What he was referring to was the fact that this time some 200 cops, armed with shotguns they were ready to use, rushed to the area of the clash.

The conditions from which Watts suffers — segregation, police brutality, unemployment, inadequate housing and schools — are not unique to Watts, but typical of ghetto conditions throughout the country. And the reaction of black people in Watts is not unique but symptomatic of things to come in the other major ghettos.

But why do the rulers of the U.S. chose to answer the demands of black people for equality with police terror? It is clear to many, including government officials, that most large ghettos are potentially as explosive as Watts and that Watts could be provoked into another uprising at almost any time. Why do they persist in policies which will lead to social crises?

Racism is built into the very foundations of this society. The economic and social system rests on it. The racism that was developed by the ideologists of slavery is just as useful to the capitalist rulers of today in maintaining this system.

Black people have moved from the rural South to the cities of both the North and the South, where they have become the poorest, most oppressed and exploited section of the working class. It is racism — the attitude that Negroes are less than human — which makes this extra oppression

possible. Segregation of housing and inferior schools are necessary to maintain the whole structure of the super-exploitation of the Negro.

The people who own and run the country are opposed to any fundamental changes. If they are forced to permit changes they want them to occur slowly — the slower the better.

Racism and segregation are necessary for the capitalists to prevent all workers from feeling solidarity sufficiently for them to fight to improve the conditions of the most oppressed sections. But racial oppression and segregation into ghettos also generate feelings of black nationalism which is an essential ideological force in mobilizing black people to struggle for their freedom.

The Nationalist Trend

"Most Watts Negroes tend to black nationalism," the March 20 *Times* admits. Though this tendency may be stronger in Watts than in most other ghettos, black nationalism is spreading rapidly wherever there are black ghettos.

The knowledge that black people must organize independently, must develop their own power to fight against those who run this society in order to win freedom is an indispensable step in the battle. Despite the assassination of Malcolm X, the outstanding spokesman for the black nationalist point of view, these ideas have spread rapidly. Malcolm X's death set back the building of a black nationalist organization. But the example of Watts shows that his ideas have penetrated deeply in the ghetto. We can anticipate that a movement will develop which will organize and channel the explosive energy for change that Watts has already demonstrated.

What law of the land, what provision of the Constitution or any statute, what axiom of our political tradition states that the President's voice is the voice of the nation which all citizens are bound to accept as such? I can answer for you. The answer is, None, absolutely None. The Constitution does not use the term foreign affairs. It does not declare the President to be the symbol of national unity or his voice to be the voice of the nation. — Charles A. Beard

Antiwar Vets Slate N.Y. Demonstration

NEW YORK — The Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam will hold a rally March 25 in connection with the International Days of Protest at which some 20 veterans will burn their discharge papers as an act of disassociation from the U. S. war of genocide in Vietnam.

Members of the veterans committee made two earlier attempts to turn in their discharge papers and medals as an act of protest against the war. On Feb. 5 they tried to return them to President Johnson at the White House, and on March 19 they tried to give them to Vice President Humphrey at his home in Chevy Chase, Md. No one would accept the papers on either occasion.

The rally will be held on the north side of Union Square at 5 p.m. on Friday. Speakers at the rally include: A. J. Muste, Paul Boutelle, Prof. Robert S. Browne, Dave Dellinger, Bill Epton, and Mitchell Goodman. Ron Wolin will moderate.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY. Speaker: Joseph Johnson, American-born socialist threatened with deportation. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

Hear ERNEST THOMAS, vice president of the Deacons for Defense and Justice. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

NOTE TIME CHANGE. SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS. A bi-weekly commentary by SWP spokesman, Theodore Edwards. Mon., April 4, 6:30 p.m. Re-broadcast Tues., April 5 9:15 a.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on dial).

BOOK BAZAAR. Books of all description: Marxist, labor, history, radical, pamphlets, periodicals. Bargain prices. Sat., April 9. Doors open at 12 noon. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Al Lynn Memorial Library.

NEW YORK

THE TWO SOVIET WRITERS: WHAT THEY WROTE; WHY THEY WERE JAILED. Speaker, George Saunders, writer for *The Militant*. Fri., April 1, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1 students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

CUBA AND THE TRI-CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Speaker: Bill Onasch. Saturday, April 2, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 240. Mpls. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

...Letter from GI

(Continued from Page 1)

The people do want to decide their own government. The United States is just butting in. This will go on for eternity. We will have to give up sooner or later. I can't see how we can win. The south Vietnamese soldiers don't even care. While we are busting our chops they are in the villages sleeping and drinking beer. If you ever saw this place you would wonder what the hell we are doing here. It is hot, dry, bugs, snakes, and the people hate us. There isn't any movies, television, beaches or anything. The only thing you can get for enjoyment is get laid. It costs two dollars but the girls all have the siff and gonorrhea and other venereal diseases.

Well John it was nice to hear from you and I hope I have answered your questions. If you have any more let me know and I will try to answer them. Oh don't worry about getting recalled it won't happen but your brother probably will be sent here. Stay well and take care.

Dave

PEACE BROADCAST

Appeal to GIs in Vietnam

While visiting north Vietnam in the latter part of February, Ralph Schoenman, secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, was invited to speak over Radio Hanoi. He took advantage of the opportunity to address his remarks to the American soldiers who might be listening in. The following is the text of Schoenman's speech as released in London.

I speak to you today from Hanoi as one American to another. Like you I love my country and like you I believe in justice and human freedom.

Brothers, you know what kind of war we are fighting against the people of Vietnam. It is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest that all of us hate and few of us understand.

When we fought for our own independence and freedom, no one had to tell us what it was about or draft us to make us fight. And we didn't have to go 10,000 miles. We fought in our revolutionary war against foreign troops, mercenaries and Benedict Arnold. We had only pitchforks and muskets; and we hid in forests and fields. We were ragtag and the occupiers were the strongest army of that day. We were hungry and poor. We fought them house by house and farm by farm. That war was our war of liberation.

They said we were terrorists. We, Americans, in our own villages and towns! And they, the colonial occupier, they were the ones calling us rebels and rabble.

What did Nathan Hale say when

he was caught trying to ambush the British? "My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country."

And Patrick Henry: "Is life so sweet or peace so dear that we would remain slaves to have them? I know not what other men may say, but as for me: Give me liberty or give me death."

Those words still ring in our hearts after two hundred years. We still repeat them.

Who then is the Nathan Hale and the Patrick Henry in Vietnam? It isn't the U.S. army, not us. And we know it. Who came thousands of miles over the sea to kill and destroy? The British did it to us and we are doing it to the Vietnamese. Who shows that heroism, that love of country, that deep belief in freedom and justice which is more powerful than any weapon ever made? We did in 1776; the people of Vietnam do today. We are fighting the same war against them that the Nazis fought against the people and for the same reasons. Let me quote from the *New York Times* of Feb. 12, 1950:

Rich Prize

"Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at 300 million dollars per year."

Our own State Department told us what this war is about as clearly as anyone could wish only one year later:

"We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia's resources. Nevertheless Southeast Asia supplied 90 percent of the world's crude rubber, 60 percent of its tin and 80 percent of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite."

And Eisenhower said it in 1953: "Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible — the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."

So we are the cannon fodder. We are the ones they deceive into killing Vietnamese, attacking, occupying, using gas and chemicals, bombing their schools and hospitals — all this horror to protect the empire of our rich men.

Yes, our rich men. They own 60 percent of the world's resources. That's the real and only reason we pour out \$60,000,000,000 on arms. That's why we occupy countries everywhere and keep over 3,000 bases on other peoples' soil and invade every country which tries to free itself as we did in 1776.

We invade Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo and set up our stooges everywhere. The men who sit in the Pentagon and push the buttons — they're the ones who sit on the boards of



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION. Boston students protest war in Vietnam.

directors and sign those military contracts — for themselves. They send us out here as company cops to protect their stolen property.

And what about our country? What about our cities with our slums taking up one-third of New York and Chicago and Los Angeles? And what about freedom in Watts and Harlem, in Georgia? — where those who really fight for freedom, the kind that means something, they get shot down in our streets by our cops.

The people of Vietnam have fought for twenty-five years against the Japanese, the French (we paid for the French war) and now us. We're doing the same job Tojo did and for the same reason and the same financial interests.

I've traveled all though north Vietnam while the bombs were falling. Let me tell you this: We're bombing hospitals and sanatoriums, schools, churches. I've seen the people who were strafed running out of the hospitals, the old-age homes, on crutches. Red Cross flags were flying on the buildings. We're using "lazy dogs" which slice up kids in villages from one end of the country to the other. We're using poisons. We're using gas and that gas is poison and we know it. It kills our own soldiers even when they wear gas masks. And we're using chemicals which kill people as well as destroy their food.

Torture Patriots

And those tin-pot Hitlers in Saigon have put millions of people in concentration camps under our orders. They torture and mutilate every patriot they can get their hands on. Washington is making us war criminals. Like the SS. The difference between the Gestapo and us is not noticeable to the people of Vietnam. In our hearts we know that they see us as the occupation army we are.

The brass hats and the money boys at home have made us their victims. These new Hitlers use us to carry out every war crime in the book. That's the truth. But the Vietnamese fight to the last man, woman and child just as we would if it were our country.

Brothers: If our people were invaded and occupied for twenty-five years; if 60 percent of our people were in concentration camps; if our cities were burned to the ground with jelly gasoline, if our farms and crops and water and children were poisoned with chemicals and gassed in their homes, what would we say to demands from the criminals, who had done all this, that we talk peace while their army stayed and the traitors who served them were called our government? Brothers, we'd fight!

We carry on our conscience these crimes against the Vietnamese. That is what our American protest movement is about. That is the real struggle for democracy, for American democracy.

That is the real battle front for freedom — the fight against our rulers who exploit us and degrade us in the name of our own country.

We have as much right to our country as those in Washington who have stolen it and who make our name stink in the nostrils of decent people all over the world. Let Johnson and McNamara come here in their underwear and fight their own battle if they want to. The people of Vietnam will deal with them. But we must go home. We must stop murdering these heroic people. Our battle is in Washington against the men who sent us to kill and torment the Vietnamese. If we resist we can redeem our country.

Stand for Tyranny

It is not the evil which is new nor is it the crisis which has changed. It is simply that we stand today where the Germans stood in the nineteen thirties, because the tyranny and cruelty is done by our government in our name. And so in the name of all we value, let us refuse to fight this unjust war. Resistance begins with the question: When, if not now; and who, if not I?

Remember that you are not alone. Thousands of Americans are marching in every city. Every university rings with the sound of our American resistance. We are rising together with the most articulate of our fellow Americans: our poets, our playwrights, our professors, our students — with the very heart of the American nation. No force can stop us. No prison can hold us and no weapon can kill our spirit. There is no power capable of bringing us to our knees. We are struggling for an America free of murderous production and free of war criminals.

You American soldiers have seen with your own eyes the pitiless horror of our war against the people of Vietnam. Help us free our country from the shame and burden of such wars. We were born free men. The choice and responsibility is ours.

Gaining Campus Following

Bring-Troops-Home Newsletter

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK, March 21 — Gus Horowitz, editor of the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*, discussed the progress made by the *Newsletter* and the antiwar movement with me today, on his way back to Boston where the *Newsletter* is published. He had just been in Denver to speak with the parents of Lt. Howe, the young officer who has been given a prison sentence as a result of an army court martial for participating in an antiwar demonstration (see article, page 4).

Horowitz said that he expected the March 25-26 demonstrations to be the largest antiwar actions to date. "The International Days of Protest are being organized on a local basis, by local Committees to End the War and in some places by united front formations like the Parade Committee in New York."

Build Committees

"There are *Newsletter* supporters helping to build broad antiwar committees all over the country," Horowitz said. "They have been among the most active builders of the Days of Protest."

The national office of the *Newsletter* has also helped organize the March 25-26 actions. "From our inception last December, we have publicized the demonstrations. We have printed thousands of buttons, stickers and brochures designed to help local committees to build the largest actions possible," Horowitz explained.

"We sent out teams of traveling organizers, to smaller cities and out-of-the-way campuses to help spread the antiwar movement, using the organization of March 25-26 demonstrations as a focus. They went to over 50 areas in Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and upstate New York. In addition to spreading the word about the Days of Protest, these teams were able to establish new committees against the war in a number of places."

Newsletter supporters have been active intervening programatically in the antiwar movement. "We have pushed to organize within the demonstrations the largest possible contingent of forces favoring immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam," Horowitz said. "The theme of immediate withdrawal, expressed in such slogans as 'Bring the troops home now,' will be the most prevalent theme in many areas."

Turning to the Lt. Howe case, Horowitz said that the *Newsletter* would give it publicity and encourage antiwar committees across the country to support the case. "We hope many committees will arrange meetings in defense of Lt. Howe, and arrange speaking engagements for his parents."

"Lt. Howe's parents are very fine people," the *Newsletter* spokesman said. "They very much support their son and his right to express his opinion of the war. They themselves are opposed to the war. The 'Freedom Now for

Lt. Howe' committee, which is organizing the defense for the young officer, has prepared an excellent brochure on the case which can be obtained from the *Newsletter* or directly from the committee in Denver."

Discussing the *Newsletter* itself, Horowitz said that "it is the voice of that growing section of the antiwar movement that stands for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. It was projected at the Thanksgiving antiwar convention in Washington by representatives of Committees to End the War in Vietnam and Vietnam Day Committees across the country who were for the formation of a national organization of independent antiwar committees based on the withdrawal demand."

Expanding Fast

"Since then, we have expanded many times over, and our activities have greatly increased. The *Newsletter* is the most widely read publication to come out of the antiwar movement itself, and its circulation is rapidly going up. Beginning with our March 25 issue, we are going over to offset."

"I think that the growth of the *Newsletter* and its increasing role as a national organizing center show the potential of the antiwar movement and the need for such a center," Horowitz said. "Although we have done a great deal, the potential outstrips our present finances, and we need more funds."

A subscription to the *Newsletter*, which carries news of the war in Vietnam, reports on the antiwar movement and discussion articles, is \$1. For \$3, you can become a *Newsletter* supporter, which includes a subscription to the *Newsletter*.

Send contributions to: The *Newsletter*, P. O. Box 317, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.



Gus Horowitz

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Monday, March 28, 1966

SANE's Political Program

The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has decided to concentrate its energies on political efforts to further the cause of peace. As the first major step in this direction it has secured the endorsement of a number of prominent figures in the liberal, peace and civil rights movement for a "National Voters Pledge Campaign."

The committee proposes to secure large quantities of signatures of pledge cards declaring:

"I pledge to support and vote for candidates in 1966 who agree to work vigorously:

"For U.S. steps to scale down the fighting and achieve a cease fire;

"For U.S. initiatives to encourage negotiations with all concerned parties including the Vietcong (NLF); and

"For a settlement which permits the Vietnamese people freely to work out their own future;

"For the use of international agencies to settle the disputes among nations; and

"For the avoidance of military intervention in the affairs of other nations; and

"For the increasing use of our resources in constructive economic and social programs at home and abroad."

SANE is proposing a mass delegation to Washington May 14 to deliver the signed pledge cards.

We believe that what SANE is trying to do will prove less than effectual. In coming issues we will discuss in greater detail why we think so. Here we will simply indicate the main reasons.

SANE is correct in suggesting that the issue of war and peace must be resolved fundamentally through political action. But the crucial question is: What kind of political action?

In our view the only effective political action against war is the kind that breaks masses of people away from the pro-war Republican and Democratic parties — not the kind which draws them closer to these parties.

Both parties are firmly wedded to the social system responsible for war and neither can realistically be expected to become a genuinely antiwar party. That is why, we are convinced, meaningful antiwar political action must go in the direction of anti-capitalist politics.

What SANE is trying to do serves only to bolster the illusion that somehow the problem of war can be solved within the framework of the capitalist parties and this simply is not so.

Efforts in that direction, in fact, can tend only to water down the objective of those seeking peace. This should be obvious from SANE's very declaration. What does SANE demand politicians commit themselves to before SANE will deliver the vote: "... U.S. steps to scale down the fighting!"

This is the logical extension of SANE's persistent refusal to support the clear-cut antiwar demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. It has opposed this demand because it recognizes that it would put it at loggerheads with the two major parties and the conservative leaders of SANE don't want to be put in that position. Now, with the opening of their political campaign, they are not even ready to call for an immediate end to the hostilities, only a "scaling down."

We would not argue that SANE will not find candidates it can support on the basis of such a program. With antiwar sentiment growing in the country more and more politicians will try to assume what looks like a "peace" posture and many will speak for a "scaling down" of the war and even negotiations with the National Liberation Front. (Incidentally, why does SANE go along with the red-baiters in calling it the "Vietcong"?). And every vote hustler and his brother will certainly be for "social and economic progress at home and abroad."

Perhaps we can summarize our criticism with a single point: If SANE had circulated this pledge in 1964 the first man to sign it would have been Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 225 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-3044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 381-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2648, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3127 Woodward. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-8238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1

to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party, 5714 San Pablo Ave., Oakland. Telephone 532-2782.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 2741.

SEATTLE. 3815 8th NE. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

INCARCERATED IN FT. LEAVENWORTH

An Antiwar Army Lieutenant

By Harry Ring

U.S. Army Lieutenant Henry Howe, Jr., 24, is serving a one-year prison term in the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He was convicted by a court martial last Dec. 22 of two charges: using contemptuous words against the President and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman.

Howe is doing time because he is opposed to what this country is doing in Vietnam and he made his views known by participating in a demonstration against the war held in El Paso, Texas last Nov. 6 by a small group of courageous students and faculty members from Texas Western College.

In civilian clothes and not on duty, young Howe joined the demonstrators who were braving a whipped-up crowd.

Howe carried a placard which declared: "End Johnson's Fascist Aggression in Vietnam" and "Let's Have More than a Choice Between Petty, Ignorant Fascists in 1968."

A University of Colorado political science graduate, Howe had not long previously written his parents that he was proud of the opportunity to serve his country. Johnson's escalation of the war after his pre-election attacks on Goldwater's proposals to do so led Howe to change his view of the war.

Fresh Insight

His participation in the demonstration gave him a further insight into the quality of the government. Despite the hostile crowds, the band of protesters held their march without incident and dispersed. As they did, El Paso police stepped forward and arrested Howe (he had obviously been pointed out to them), charging him with vagrancy. They then turned him over to military police and he was promptly court-martialed.

There was a third, graver charge: seeking to "promote disloyalty among the troops and civilian population." That charge was dropped when the presiding officer decided that Howe's action did not constitute "an attack on the war aims of the United States" because the United States is not presently at war.

Defended by an assigned army attorney, he was convicted even though in July of 1963 (during the civil rights upsurge) Secretary of Defense McNamara outlined regulations under which servicemen could participate in public demonstrations and no effort was made in the court martial to establish that Howe had violated these regulations.

In a telephone interview with the Denver Post that was cut off in the middle by army authorities, Howe indicated some of his thinking. He said in part:

Basic Right

"One of the hallmarks of fascism is the suppression of free speech. There is a clear distinction between responsibility to the military and the rights of a citizen. I have never refused to obey an Army order... On the other hand I believe I have the right to express myself as a citizen."

Howe is determined to fight for his rights as a citizen. Fortunately he already has a good measure of support in that effort. Relatives and others in the Denver area have established the Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee to publicize and mobilize support for his fight.

Also, the American Civil Liberties Union has taken over the young serviceman's legal defense and the ACLU's legal director, Melvin Wulf, has been assigned to it.

The liberties group declared that the Army stand in the Howe case means that "a man who enters the



Lt. Henry Howe, Jr.

armed forces leaves the Bill of Rights at home."

Declaring that it will take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary, the ACLU charged that the articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice under which Howe was convicted violate freedom of speech and assembly. It declared Howe's participation in the antiwar march "the very essence of the activity intended to be unqualifiedly protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution."

In an unusual legal move, the ACLU won a federal district court hearing on its application for a writ of habeas corpus to have Howe released on bail pending appeal. Attorney Wulf pointed out that it is customary for the army to either permit convicted men to remain free pending appeal or restrict them to quarters. Prisoners generally are confined pending appeal only if they are convicted of crimes of violence.

The federal judge, however, refused to issue the writ and also denied a motion that Howe not

be transferred from the area pending appeal to the Circuit Court.

"I hope we don't see the day," the judge declared, "when the federal courts can tell the Army what to do!"

The next day Howe was flown to Fort Leavenworth where he is confined in virtual isolation. At last report there was only one other person in the officers' section of the prison.

The Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee, whose address is P.O. Box 6024, Denver, Colo. 80206, has listed the following five things that can be done to help in the case:

"1. Write to your Congressmen urging immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Ask them to protest publicly Lt. Howe's conviction and the injustice of confining him during appeals.

"2. For those who demonstrate, include among your placards one which reads: 'Freedom Now for Lt. Howe.'

"3. Write letters to the editors of daily and student newspapers asking for their editorial support in opposition to the war and Lt. Howe's court martial. Copies of pertinent editorials and news items should be sent to the Committee.

"4. Send a contribution to the Freedom Now for Lt. Howe Committee in order to bring to the attention of the American people Lt. Howe's court martial and opposition to the war in Vietnam.

"5. Send letters of encouragement to Lt. Howe, c/o the Committee."

Partisans of peace and civil liberties should do these things and more. At stake in the fight being waged by Lt. Howe is not only his democratic rights. A victory in his case would help enormously to ease the way for the mass of soldiers who will inevitably arrive at the same conclusions about the Vietnam war that Lt. Howe did.

GI Challenges Government On Legality of Vietnam War

By Alex Harte

Private Robert Luftig of New York City has filed suit to prevent the Army from assigning him to Vietnam. The suit was filed in U. S. District Court, San Francisco, on Jan. 19, 1966. Those named as defendants are Secretary of Defense McNamara, Army Secretary Reser, and the Commander of Fort Ord, where Luftig was stationed.

This suit is believed to be the first of its kind filed against the U. S. government. The question the suit raises is the right of the defendants, or anyone under their command, to force Luftig to "engage in a war which is illegal under the laws of the United States, the Constitution and treaty obligations." The suit charges:

"I. That the war action of the United States in Vietnam is violative of our treaty obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and other treaties.

"II. That the action in Vietnam by the armed forces of the United States violates the Geneva Accords, the terms of which were accepted by the United States although not a signator thereto.

"III. That the armed conflict between the forces of the United States and the Vietnamese is a 'war' without a declaration by Congress.

"IV. That the President of the United States under his executive power 'shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed'...

"V. That the deployment of plaintiff to Vietnam under existing conditions would be violative

of the 'due process' provision of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States..."

The brief submitted in the suit has been reproduced and is being distributed by the Luftig vs. McNamara Committee which was formed to inform the public about the case and raise funds for its prosecution. Contributions or requests for information can be sent to: Martin Shepard, M. D., Treasurer; Luftig vs. McNamara Committee; 50 West 96 St., New York, N. Y. 10025.

A hearing is scheduled for April 5.

WATTS AND HARLEM

The Rising Revolt In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon and George Novack

25c

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5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003

WHAT U.S. TRIES TO CONCEAL

Two Governments in South Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

"March 1, 1965: The south Vietnamese and their American 'advisers' had lost the war. There had never been a large battle, but hundreds of outposts and strategic hamlets had fallen. Most often they had surrendered — or more accurately, retaining their armed guards and their flag, they had secretly gone over to the side of the communists.

"Some zones had been entirely 'liberated,' and existed under the control of the Vietcong which had established its administration, its military bases, its entanglement of committees. In certain places even, coins had the effigy of Ho Chi Minh. I had such coins in my hands."

The description is from a book just published in France, *Un Million de Dollars le Viet* (One Million Dollars per Viet), by Jean Lartéguy. A former French soldier who fought in the Indochinese war and later in Korea, and who has written popular books about the Algerian war, Lartéguy can hardly be described as sympathetic to the cause of colonial revolution.

Nevertheless, Lartéguy's new book touches on a crucial aspect of the Vietnamese war which has been given next to no attention in the American press: This is the question of the actual scope of influence of the National Liberation Front. "Ten million people out of the fourteen million living in south Vietnam," Lartéguy continued, still speaking of the March 1965 period, "were directly or indirectly under the grip of the Vietcong."

The American people have been fed two big lies to justify Washington's aggression in Vietnam. First, they have been told that the "Vietcong" is essentially a "foreign infiltrator" dominated by Hanoi, or even China. This lie is gaining less and less acceptability in the minds of many millions of Americans, and it is one of the main reasons why the antiwar movement is developing momentum.

But there is a second and in some ways more criminal lie that has been perpetrated in Washington and that is the lie that this "outside aggressor" has little support among the people of south Vietnam and that its "rule by terror" can be relatively easily destroyed.

Functioning Gov't

The fact that the National Liberation Front is a functioning government, with its own administration, supported by and dominating the overwhelming majority of the south Vietnamese people is a fact even more assiduously denied by the Democratic administration than the fact that the NLF is south Vietnamese.

But it is this fact which explains why there are 235,000 U. S. troops in south Vietnam today, why the United States is flying an average of 450 bombing missions a day into the interior of the country — and why this is only the beginning. Washington launched the escalation last March with the primary purpose of destroying the National Liberation Front.

It is one year later. Over 2,000 GI's have died on the battlefields since the first wave of combat Marines landed in Danang March 8. Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week, Rep. Clement A. Zablocki, (D.-Wisc.), estimated that there had been 14,000 Vietnamese civilian casualties in January and February alone. He calculated that there were two civilian casualties for each "Viet Cong," on an average, but that "some recent search and destroy operations have resulted in six civilian casualties to one Viet Cong." (New York Herald Tribune, March 20.)

U.S. Casualties Keep Mounting

The number of U. S. men killed in Vietnam since Jan. 1, 1961 has climbed to 2,559. More than 2,000 of these deaths occurred since last summer when President Johnson ordered U. S. ground troops into the war on a big scale. Almost half of the slain have fallen in the first 10 weeks of this year. More than 10,000 have been wounded since the summer escalation began.

This is not to speak of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who have fled from their bombed-out villages only to survive in the refugee concentration camps surrounding Saigon and the other large cities along the seacoast.

The question may reasonably be asked if the NLF is as weak and unpopular as Washington claims, why has one year of slaughter failed to make any real dent in its control of south Vietnam?

Robert Guillain, specialist on Chinese affairs for the French daily newspaper *Le Monde*, has just completed a four article series on the Vietnamese war in that paper in which he analyzed the real extent of NLF domination in south Vietnam.

In the first of these articles, March 12, Guillain described the situation in the northern region around Hue. After traveling from Saigon to Hue, a French friend of his in Hue told Guillain, "Each of the villages which you came through is completely 'Viet.' The village chief appointed by the government is purely nominal. The only masters are secret communist agents."

This region is one of the main combat areas which has been heavily bombed. Guillain visited a civilian hospital. "Certain rooms," he wrote, "are full of peasants wounded or burned by napalm . . . Abdominal wounds are numerous, caused by bullets, shells, bombs, grenades, canister, whatever you want . . ."

"A small boy, perhaps twelve, was convalescing in a wheelchair: At the end of his legs there were nothing but hideous reddish stumps, the rest of his poor feet destroyed by napalm."

Guillain discussed the Saigon region in the second article, March 13. The area surrounding the city is impenetrable to Americans at night, he reported. This is the region where most of the large-scale U.S. ground operations are taking place, although none of them have made significant contact with NLF troops so far.

The only way American GI's meet the enemy, Guillain wrote, is through the "dirty tricks" of the guerrillas: "Traps that impale men, bamboo points to pierce the feet, grenade traps, mines in profusion, and even vehicle traps . . ." (On Feb. 9, U. S. Senator Stephen M. Young told his colleagues, "Many GI's are being terribly wounded in jungle 'booby traps' so concealed as to escape detection even if extreme care is exercised. The ratio of our wounded to those killed in combat is about 10 to 1 because of these tactics." Congressional Record p. 2491.)

From the Saigon area, Guillain traveled south to the Mekong Delta region — the "prize" rice-growing area. This region, which from an economic standpoint is a central target of the war, has so far been uncontested by American troops; but what is little known to the American people — it has been heavily bombarded day after day.

"All the south is 'Red,' except the islets of the capital and the

chief towns," Guillain wrote March 16, "and these are surrounded by the 'Viets.' And in that which is Red, the air force bombs all that moves: buffalo, sampans in the canals, peasants in the fields." Rice is planted at night, he explained, because it is too dangerous during the day.

Guillain continued, "In reality, the Americans are not absent from the Delta. They are terribly present and active in the sky . . . But to respond to the guerrillas by air strikes, to reconquer the land by bombing attacks of volleys and volleys of napalm, is a questionable method, to say the least, especially in heavily populated regions."

The French journalist also commented on the so-called pacification program which has been attempted in part of the region: "The great problem for American aid in the Delta is to find rural zones where security has been well enough established to begin the work of construction."

"Such security stands in constant danger. A shot in the head of the 'sympathetic' village chief, a burst of machine-gun fire in the yard held by the Americans, and there on the ground is the famous Honolulu plan . . . Against American aid, the Vietcong have permanent veto power."

Guillain's description of the war has been hinted at by some American correspondents, but usually not in such detail. One of the reasons was suggested by Guillain himself — that the American newsmen spend most of their time following the U. S. troop movements, thereby never getting much of a chance to see the areas of the country ruled by the National Liberation Front and bombed, but not fought over, by the United States.

Real Situation

However, just by observing one of the major "search and destroy" operations of the war, *New York Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan got a good idea of the real situation in Vietnam, and what can be expected from battles which the Pentagon is plotting for Vietnam's future. In the Feb. 15 *Times*, Sheehan reported his observations of the Binh Dinh Province operation:

"The Saigon military communiqués," Sheehan stated, "have failed to mention what is apparent to a visitor to the battlefield — the appalling destruction wrought in Gaihuu and about 15 other peasant hamlets on the central coast by artillery barrages and aerial bombardments."

"Gaihuu and two adjacent hamlets along Highway 1 about 310 miles north of Saigon are a frightening example of this destruction. South Vietnamese officials estimate that within the three hamlets, about a thousand mud-and-thatch or brick-and-tile peasant homes have been blasted apart by bombs and shells or incinerated by napalm. Bomb craters, some as large as 10 feet deep and 20 feet across, pockmark the hamlets and the surrounding rice paddies and hillsides . . ."

"Although most of the old men, women and children appear to have escaped death or injury by hiding in underground bomb shelters or fleeing to the hills and rice fields, civilian casualties have still been considerable . . . One distraught woman appeared at a field medical station holding a child whose legs had been horribly burned by napalm. The child is not expected to live."

"Thousands of refugees — some officials estimate as many as 5,000 — have flocked to Highway 1."

Sheehan then comments, "Most of the destruction and killing and wounding of civilians was perhaps inevitable under the circumstances. The Vietcong and the north Vietnamese fought from an ela-



FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Guerrilla soldiers like these are the main military force supporting the National Liberation Front.

borate system of fortified bunkers and trenches built around and within the hamlets. Headlong assaults across the open rice paddies would have inflicted prohibitive casualties . . . so the Communists had to be forced to abandon the hamlets by shellfire and air strikes.

"Yet some American officials here asked privately," Sheehan continued, "whether this might not in the end prove to be a pointless, if bloody, exercise. The troops will not remain once the operation ends in a few weeks, and local south Vietnamese officials concede that they cannot hope to maintain control over these hamlets once the troops are gone." (Emphasis added)

This final comment on the results of the largest troop operation in the last five years of the Vietnamese war tells much about the whole nature of the Vietnamese conflict and what the United States is doing.

It makes it clear that the only way Washington could impose its power on the Vietnamese people is by virtual troop occupation of every inch of land that it fought over: and the battle makes it clear that to accomplish this end will mean the destruction of whole villages, the massacre of whole populations.

Lacking the U. S. troop occupation, the NLF will return to the area to rule as before. If there had been no U. S. troops to begin with, no napalming air strikes, no cannon barrages from the offshore Seventh Fleet, there would be no murdered children, no destroyed villages and no thousands of refugees.

In Saigon

Is the situation any better, at least, in the large cities and especially Saigon, where actual U. S. troop occupation "protects" the people from the NLF? According to all reports, the situation is different in Saigon, but in some respects it is more degrading.

In the Feb. 17 *Washington Post* there were two reports from Saigon. Stanley Karnow, describing the inflationary effect of U. S. occupation, wrote, "Tremendous infusions of American money have simply unhinged and disrupted the local society to the point at which a bargainer can earn in a day what a longshoreman makes in a month."

"Soaring prices have especially affected fixed-income groups — civil servants, army officers, schoolteachers and other profes-

sionals — who are the intelligentsia of any underdeveloped country. A middle level civil servant is being evicted from his house this week, for example, because his landlady can find an American tenant willing to pay \$600 per month rent. The landlady, incidentally, is the wife of a prominent Vietnamese general."

In the other *Washington Post* article, correspondent Ward Just writes: "As one example of the social and political implications, 10-year-old boys are becoming construction workers . . . While ARVN [Saigon army] privates die in the swamps of Haungia Province, well-off Vietnamese sun themselves at the swimming pool at the Cercle Sportif."

Guillain, in the fourth article of the *Le Monde* series, March 17, pointed out the fragility of the Saigon government which resulted from the effect of American occupation on the populace. The Saigon population, Guillain commented, is "indifferent to the battles, knows only the difficulties of living and the chances of obtaining American dollars."

This has made plenty of room for intensified NLF political-propaganda work in Saigon, Guillain noted, around the simple three-fold program of anti-Americanism, protest of economic difficulties and opposition to the war.

The *New York Times* reported from Saigon Jan. 8: "A major effort is under way to build a 72,000-man national police force to try to exterminate the widespread clandestine Vietcong political organization in the villages and cities of south Vietnam. The program has the warm support of the United States Ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge . . ."

To exterminate the political cadres of the NLF in the major cities, to wipe out the guerrilla forces of the NLF in the countryside — these are the announced intentions of the Johnson administration. These intentions are wrong in every way known to decent common sense, and they are a direct and brutal intervention in the affairs of another people.

But on top of that, it is criminal madness, because the NLF is a revolutionary force, with a revolutionary government supported by millions and millions of Vietnamese people, and to destroy this is not to destroy a few or ten thousand guerrillas. It is to destroy a population.

Talented, Courageous Labor Organizer

BIG BILL HAYWOOD

By Priscilla Ring

When Bill Haywood was born in 1869, factory, mine and farm workers had conditions similar to what exists today for the Negro cotton pickers in the South. New equipment was putting many men out of work. Men, women and young children worked 12 and more hours a day for \$3 or less, and lived in company-owned shacks. A great battle was under way for change; its main goal was the eight-hour-day.

A new type of labor union was developing to better oppose the associations being formed by industrialists to resist any change in the hours or conditions of work. These new unions organized all workers within an industry — skilled and unskilled, black, white and foreign born. One of the most militant of these forerunners of the CIO was the Western Federation of Miners (WFM). Bill Haywood, a miner for over 12 years, became one of the giants among the leaders of this fight for industrial, non-exclusive unions, and the eight-hour-day.

The WFM had been successful in getting an eight-hour-law passed in Utah. But this law was ignored until the WFM ran strikes that got it enforced. Mining was the main industry of Colorado and in 1901 the WFM set out to establish the eight-hour-day there. The head office of the WFM was in Denver, and as Bill Haywood had recently been elected secretary-treasurer of the union, he worked out of this center. But Big Bill Haywood, as he was called because of his big build, his massive strength, and his fearlessness, was more interested in organizing workers than in keeping records, and he played an active role in the union's strikes.

The most brutal of these struggles was the 1903 general strike at Cripple Creek, a region of small hamlets that grew up around the gold mines owned primarily by the Rockefeller interests. The miners were bringing up \$24,000,000 in gold annually; at the time it was the richest gold camp in the world. The WFM was trying to establish \$3 as the minimum daily wage as well as the eight-hour-day for all men in their union. The miners of Cripple Creek had gained these conditions for themselves in a strike in 1902, but the mill men, who smeltered the ore, couldn't get one recalcitrant mill owner to comply with the arbitration rulings.

Call General Strike

So the WFM called a general strike in the area on Aug. 10, 1903. The strike was an example of union solidarity for over two years when, finally, the force and violence perpetrated by the mine owners and sanctioned by Colorado's Governor Peabody, intimidated even union men to work in the mines and smelting mills.

Three days after the strike was called, the Citizen's Alliance, an organization of bankers and merchants, allied itself with the mine owners by getting local merchants to demand cash for all sales. This had the effect of immediately cutting off the miners as they relied on credit even when working. Haywood set up union stores which not only offered miners goods at cost, but, with allotments of script, began a strikers' relief program.

The Mine Owners' Association's next move was to get Governor Peabody to declare a breakdown in law and order, though there hadn't even been a fist fight in the district, and to send in 1,000 National Guardsmen. The militia's main role in this strike was to arrest, without warrants, WFM organizers and hundreds of active unionists, herd them into bull-pens and hold them for months without charges.

Haywood and the union's lawyers were able to obtain a court

Your Suggestion Will Be Welcomed

From time to time, in this feature we present portraits of individuals past and present who made significant contributions to the struggle for human progress. If any of our readers have suggestions for figures that might be dealt with in this feature we will be pleased to consider such suggestions.

Send them to The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

injunction against these activities, but the injunction was ignored as was a writ of habeas-corpus ruling in their favor.

The mine owners tried to isolate the miners and their cause through censorship of the press. The WFM challenged this censorship and publicized the miners' story widely throughout the state in their own weekly *Miners' Magazine*, in independent newspapers, in mass rallies and, on Labor Day, with a solidarity parade of 5,000 union men.

But the force that the mine owners used was more powerful. They hired gunmen to murder strikers, dynamite their homes, and evict them and their families from their homes. Since this wasn't enough to get the miners to go back to work, they tried sabotage for which they framed the WFM. The most notorious case was the dynamiting of a railway depot which killed 13 men and maimed many more. This incident enabled the mine owners to whip up mob hysteria against the strikers to the point where some were murdered and hundreds were deported to other states.

The lesson that Bill Haywood and others drew from this strike was that they needed to extend their scope to include railwaymen, who carried the ore between the mines and the mills, and other miners in the state. In fact, they needed one big union of all working men. In this way the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was conceived.

At the June 1905 founding convention of the IWW, Bill Haywood presided. He opened the meeting: "Fellow workers, we are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism. This organization will be formed, based and founded on the class struggle, having but one object and one purpose, and that is to bring the workers of this country into the possession of the full value of the product of their toil."

In 1906 there was an attempt to railroad Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer and George Pettibone, leaders in the WFM, to death or life-imprisonment by framing them for the murder of a former governor of Idaho. Haywood was the first brought to trial. He and the noted defense attorney, Clarence Darrow, converted the court into a forum on the class struggle. The men were acquitted.

Haywood next became national news during the 1912 textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Mass. This strike not only won all the demands of the workers, but gained national prominence for the IWW. In this strike Haywood initiated a new form of strikers' relief — that of sending the children of the strikers to the homes of sympathetic workers in other towns. This was so effective in taking pressure off the strikers that the mill owners sent policemen to try to stop the children from boarding the trains by force and arresting them with their

mothers. The nationwide publicity and mass demonstrations that Haywood organized turned public opinion in favor of the strikers and was a determining factor in the mill owners' decision to give in.

As the U. S. was preparing to enter the first imperialist world war, most unions passed resolutions supporting the war and against striking. The IWW passed a resolution condemning the war as being a war in the interests of the "captains" of industry and not of the workers of any of the countries involved.

What's more they continued to organize IWW unions and strikes in the lumber, copper and coal industries for better conditions for workers. The government retaliated with raids on their union offices and arrests. On Sept. 5, 1917, there was a simultaneous raid coast-to-coast. Without warrants, offices and homes were invaded, files and correspondence were confiscated, and officers and members of the IWW were arrested.

Again, Haywood, at his trial, with the assistance of his lawyer, used the courtroom for an exposition of the views of the IWW. But public opinion backed the war, not the men on trial opposing the war. Haywood and many others were indicted for sedition. Haywood's sentence was for twenty years, of which he served two when he was freed pending his application for a new trial.

Bill Haywood had had time to think while he'd been in prison and one thing he was rethinking was the IWW attitude toward "political action." It had been the federal government of the U. S. that had persecuted the IWW so relentlessly. Haywood no longer felt that workingmen could ignore the "political state." A turning point in his thinking came when he read an Open Letter to the IWW from the Communist International that the Russian Revolution brought on the scene.

Joins CP

In this letter, the Soviet leaders explained what they thought were the main differences between the IWW concept of political action and their own. For Haywood, the Soviet idea was "what we have been dreaming about; here is the IWW all feathered out!" He joined the newly formed Communist Party in the U. S. and in 1921 when his petition for a new trial was turned down, went into political exile in the Soviet Union rather than return to jail for what he felt would be a life sentence.

In the Soviet Union he helped in the reconstruction of industries damaged by the wars. But his main concern remained the IWW and other political prisoners in jail in the U. S. In 1925, James P. Cannon visited Haywood in Moscow. (Cannon was one of the young leaders in the IWW and the left-wing of the Socialist Party who helped found the Communist Party, and later was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. He is presently national chairman of the SWP.)

They discussed an idea Haywood had for a committee for International Labor Defense. They worked out the plan and conception of the ILD as "a non-partisan body which would defend any member of the working class movement, regardless of his opinion or affiliation, if he came under persecution by capitalist law." (From the *First Ten Years of American Communism* by James P. Cannon, available from Merit Publishers, \$6.00). Until his death three years later, Haywood continued his active participation in the ILD by correspondence.

Big Bill Haywood was one of the outstanding products of the American working class. His life was devoted to his class and to the socialist future that class will bring about.

BOOK REVIEW

The Missile Crisis

The Missile Crisis. By Elie Abel. Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott Co. 220 pp. plus photographs. \$4.95.

During the second half of October, 1962, President Kennedy and his advisers calmly gambled with nuclear disaster. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on Oct. 23 to Under Secretary of State George Ball, "We have won a considerable victory. You and I are still alive."

In the two years preceding Kennedy's October missile crisis, the United States government had imposed an embargo on Cuba, had refused to negotiate outstanding differences with Cuba, had financed and promoted sabotage raids on Cuba, had engineered a full-scale invasion of the island, and had sent a continual stream of U-2 spy planes to violate Cuban airspace — six or more overflights a day by the latter half of October, 1962.

Now, the Kennedy administration was to demand the right to determine what weapons the Cuban people were to be allowed to defend themselves with. The weaponry that Kennedy would not permit was deemed "offensive." This category prohibited Cuba from having several types of weapons that the United States had an ample supply of — including in Turkey which borders the Soviet Union. According to Kennedy's proclamation, Cuba was not to have:

Banned List

"Surface-to-air missiles; bomber aircraft; bombs, air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items; and any other class of material hereafter designated by the Secretary of Defense for the purpose of effectuating this proclamation."

In *The Missile Crisis* by Elie Abel, who headed the National Broadcasting Company's Washington news bureau at the time of the events, we are presented with a detailed chronicle of the actions and thought processes of the Kennedy administration during the crisis days of Oct. 14-28. It is obvious for any reader that Abel approves of Kennedy's entire crisis policy. This makes the facts of his reportage all the more powerful.

Before choosing to blockade Cuba, the Kennedy administration considered six alternative plans or "tracks." The first three tracks called for a diplomatic approach. These were quickly discarded. The remaining three tracks called for military action, in one degree or another. It was on these three that the discussion finally centered.

Track D was an embargo on all military shipments to Cuba, to be enforced by a naval blockade. Abel reports that the President's Executive Committee for the crisis made the following evaluation in its Oct. 17 planning session:

For a Blockade

"On the negative side, a blockade might be repugnant to Britain and other maritime nations of the Western alliance which traded with Cuba and were highly sensitive to any apparent infringement of the freedom-of-the-seas principle. Moreover, it was commonly regarded as an act of war. Vice President Johnson — no lawyer himself — had said as much just a few days earlier in denouncing Senator Keating's demand for a Cuban embargo."

Track E, reports Abel, "called for a surprise attack to eliminate the missile installations by pinpoint bombing." This plan was put aside on Oct. 18. The Executive Committee decided that:

"Nothing would be lost by starting from the bottom of the scale. Bundy credits Dillon with the refinement that brought about his



John F. Kennedy

own conversion. The Secretary of the Treasury's clinching argument in favour of the blockade was that it could be applied without losing the option to launch an air strike later. If, however, the air strike was to be the first step, other options would be closed."

Track F was an invasion of Cuba. This was put aside, to be re-examined later, "because it would take too long to mount." However, a force of 7,500 marines went into training in a military exercise in which they were to storm the coral beaches of Vieques Island, off the southeast coast of Puerto Rico. "The marines were to liberate a mythical Republic of Vieques from the tyranny of a mythical dictator named Ortsac — that is, Castro spelled backward," writes Abel.

In all their considerations during the crisis, Kennedy's advisers changed their minds at least once and some more than once about which form of military action should be engaged in. The "moderate" approach was pro-blockade with the air strike to be used later if needed. The "tough" approach was to bomb Cuba immediately. No one was opposed to military action.

Hawks and Doves

Abel remarks on "the futility of trying to sort out the hawks from the doves." He quotes Charles Bartlett, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* after the crisis: "Secretary Rusk's position does not come through loud and clear — he appears to have been a hawk or a dove from the start."

When Kennedy informed Congressional leaders of the proposed blockade, Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, demanded an invasion of Cuba. Fulbright supported the contention of Georgia's Senator Russell that the blockade was a halfway measure.

How close to the brink of disaster Kennedy was bringing the world by his Cuba blockade can be discerned in Paul Nitze's memorandum on the contingencies of the blockade. Nitze was Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of Defense for international security affairs. Nitze wrote:

"We should follow the blockade with the offer of a political plan in the UN. If in two or three days we have continuing evidence of progress (on the Soviet missile bases) we should strike a minimum number of targets. I believe it highly unlikely the Soviet would strike SAC, with SAC fully alerted. If the surviving missiles were used against us, I would invade Cuba, without using nuclear weapons. We might then have to make a purely compensatory attack on the Soviet Union."

The facts of *The Missile Crisis* explode the theory that the balance of terror eliminates the possibility of nuclear war and that heads of state are forced by the realities of the situation to act with an appropriate reasonableness in international affairs.

Arthur Maglin

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Favors War Crimes Trial

Youngstown, Ohio
I am an avid reader and subscriber of *The Militant*. In my opinion it is the most truthful and enlightening newspaper I have read. I especially enjoy your reports on the war in Vietnam. I have read and heard much about the former Nuremberg trials. I think President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Hubert

Humphrey and Head of Selective Service Hershey are just as guilty as war criminals against the Vietnamese people as the Germans were against the Jewish people.

In my opinion they should be held and tried for their many crimes against the Vietnamese and our American boys. I would love to see them tried in a "People's Court" preferably in north Vietnam or the People's Republic of China.

I realize that is not realistic or practical, but it is just an idea. But in my opinion the drafting of American boys to serve in Vietnam as cannon fodder is just plain murder. So is our napalm bombing of villages, burning villages and wholesale genocide of the Vietnamese people. Enclosed is \$1 as a contribution to *The Militant*.

R.A.L.

Peace Candidates

New York, N.Y.
What is the position of *The Militant* on the question of peace committees running independent candidates in local elections? If you favor the idea, what program do you think should be adopted?

A Reader

[See editorial on page 4.—EDITOR]

New Reader

Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
I'd like to congratulate you for such an informative source of Afro-American news and events.

One finds it hard to find sources of information regarding Afro-Americans that frankly and honestly tell where it's at. Not colored facts that are presented in the white press, but the real story.

One of my brothers here turned me on to some of the papers he has gotten and I feel I've been missing the boat.

Please excuse the form and untidiness of this little note but I'm in between classes and I want to get my subscription in before I waste any more time.

Again, brothers, my sincere congratulations and encouragement.

F.A.

Reluctant Renewal

Woodland, Calif.
I have been debating whether to resubscribe. After reading *The Militant* for years, I am unable to say just what you stand for, and just what if tomorrow you and your followers would do if you were in control of this country.

First of all, I have never read a clear presentation of the difference between Trotskyism, which I understand you espouse, and Communism, Norman Thomas Socialism or the beliefs of any of the smaller groups that apparently believe in socialism.

If all of these groups believe in socialism, at least as a first step (some, if in control for 50 years, might try communism), why do they not state that they are ready to work with any group or person who wants socialism.

In all the years, I have never seen any statement as to what particular part of our economy you would socialize as a first step. Or what you would do with the U.S. Post Office. Do you consider it all right as it is, or would you make some definite changes?

I have begun to believe that all these organizations are headed and controlled by a small group who are doing all right financially as things are, and are afraid to work with others for fear they might lose some of their income and prestige. So they do not really want socialism. And like all the religious leaders they will not discuss these issues with those who do not agree wholly with them,

for fear they might have to make some small change so then we might at last have a real move toward socialism.

Well, I am going to risk another year's sub, but unless there is a definite change apparent in your policy, that will be the last. In the meantime I will warn your subscribers that I contact, of your lack of a definite program that could bring socialism and therefore of your insincerity.

W.F.S.

P.S. You may print any part or all of this letter if you wish as long as it is not distorted in meaning. I don't think you will.

Boys Club Plot

New York, N.Y.
I thought your readers might enjoy, as I did, the following letter from a Mr. Theodore Hochstadt of Cambridge, Mass., which appeared in the March 16 *New York Times*. It read:

"In bringing to our attention the duplicity of the DuBois Clubs in pronouncing their name 'Doo-BOYS', Richard Nixon neglected to point out the extreme duplicity of W. E. B. DuBois, who for many decades pronounced his name 'DooBOYS' as part of a long-range plot by which a subversive organization would be formed after his death and would use his name because it could be easily confused with the Boys Clubs.

"Mr. Nixon did, however, keenly note the possibility that some of the 2,500 members of the DuBois Clubs may be under the mistaken notion that they are members of the Boys Clubs. Nevertheless, the hostility mistakenly directed toward the Boys Clubs indicates that the score will probably be evened soon, because there should be a number of people joining the Boys Clubs because they think that these are the DuBois Clubs.

"Finally, Mr. Nixon is to be complimented for not obscuring the issue by speaking out against those who think that the only way to answer dissenters is by bombings and beatings, poison-pen letters and threatening phone calls. Such an unnecessary statement might have caused a good number of Mr. Nixon's supporters to suspect that he was becoming soft on Communism."

H.C.

Mother Baines Snake Oil

Austin, Texas
I read your Feb. 28 note on the censored Mother Baines magazine cover the Students for a Democratic Society distributed on the University of Texas campus. Enclosed is a copy of the masterpiece, which may be reprinted by you, since it is not copyrighted. It may be of interest to *Militant* readers to know that we still have a few of the covers on hand, and

that we will be glad to mail them to anyone who will let us know that they'd like a copy.

However, we'd also like to say that since SDS has not been able to cover the cost of the covers we distributed (private parties are still owed for the sum), and since we're snowed under and destitute with expenses, we'd like to appeal to our more prosperous brothers for whatever aid they might give us.

Dick J. Reavis
c/o SDS, Box 7098
University Station
Austin, Tex. 78712



It Was Reported in the Press

Klan and Indians — Georgia officials sought an injunction to bar a slated March 27 Ku Klux Klan rally in the town of Maxton where Lumbee Indians scattered the bedsheet boys in 1958 by shooting over their heads. The Lumbees are reported arming for the announced new rally. An editorial in the March 17 *Raleigh News and Observer* warned: "A Ku Kluxer who has business in the Maxton area today would be wise to travel incognito. Any who think they can put on their white gowns and try again to scare the Lumbees are asking for buckshot in their behinds instead of over their heads."

Beards Banned in Stanleyville — The governor of the upper Congo has banned beards on the ground that they are "an emblem of insurrection."

Mass Production of Gas — There is an interesting aspect to the revelation that an epidemic of earthquakes have been brought on in the Denver area as a result of the Army pumping noxious leftovers from the production of nerve gas into a 12,000-foot hole at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal. Some hint of the scale of production of the lethal gas is indicated by the fact that about 150 million gallons of poisonous waste water has been pumped into the well since it was put into use in 1952.

And Rightly So — Richard Cutler, vice president for student affairs at the University of Michigan, told the National Conference on Higher Education meeting in Chicago March 15 that "Our pleas to work within the system" are discounted by students. He said "the younger generation has little reason to trust the system in which we have explicit faith."

Think You've Heard Everything? — Charles Abrams, head of New York Mayor Lindsay's "Housing Task Force," complained March 19 that the city is too hard

on slumlords. "We've got to make slum ownership respectable," he declared. "We need something that will give the private entrepreneur the incentive to improve his property. Tight code enforcement is not going to do this." Meanwhile there was a fascinating sidelight to the revelation that Building Commissioner Moerdler's in-laws are slumlords. During a recent cold wave when City Hall was flooded with complaints of lack of heat, Moerdler's mother-in-law, a slumlord, pitched in on answering the calls. Somehow it suggests a Charles Addams cartoon.

Half-Way Measure — Lady Bird Johnson went to the circus in Washington, D.C. with 6,000 poor children. Now if she had passed out pieces of bread, she'd have the old Roman formula down pat.

Warning — If present trends continue, in the next 15 years the U.S. will have about 9.5 percent of the world's population but will own 83 percent of the world's nat-

ural resources, according to a leading conservationist. The prediction was made by Hugo Fisher, administrator of the Resources Agency of California. "The rest of the world," he added, "is going to take a dim view of this."

Decibel Disorders — "Mental pollution" is an even more acute menace to city dwellers than air or water pollution, according to the World Health Organization. A key problem is noise, said a spokesman for the UN agency according to the March 20 *New York Times*. "A major cause," he said, "is motor traffic which so substantially contributes to nervous disease, insomnia, nervous tension, ill temper and accident." Meanwhile a psychiatrist advised New York officials that people who live near jet airports can be made psychotic by having their dreams continually interrupted by the noise. And, incidentally, a quarter of a billion dollars worth of tranquilizers were produced last year.

—Harry Ring

FOR NEW READERS

If you are a new reader and would like to get better acquainted, you may obtain a special four-month introductory subscription by sending this blank and \$1 to

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Thought for the Week

"The credibility gap is a problem. It is getting so bad we can't even believe our own leaks." — White House press secretary Bill Moyers in a March 18 speech to the National Newspapers Association.

SIX EXPLOSIVE HOURS

Cops Set Off New Watts Outbreak

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — Another anguished cry of frustration and bitterness welled up from Watts March 15 and for a few tense hours the city seemed to teeter on the brink of a new uprising. Like the events of last August, the arrest of a Negro youth was the spark that ignited the tension-charged atmosphere of the ghetto. A chain reaction of shooting, burning and beating followed. In six explosive hours two men were killed, 26 injured, nine businesses burned, and six homes set afire.

The Tuesday night explosion, however, was not a repetition of last August's massive uprising of the ghetto. No more than 600, mostly high school and out-of-school youth, surged into the streets. They were coming out of school when a boy was arrested, allegedly for throwing a rock at a white teacher's car. In the six hours of turmoil that followed the great mass of the Negro people stayed home. Their bitterness is as deep as the youths' but they were not ready to move into the streets. Adults moved to restrain the young people, and parents kept their children home that night.

Despite this evidence of restraint, City and State officials moved as though an insurrection were taking place. Gov. Pat Brown, en route from Washington to Sacramento, had his commercial flight diverted to Los Angeles in order not to lose a moment in arriving on the scene. The National Guard was alerted, and hundreds of police were rushed to Watts. Watts was barricaded off to all outsiders, and scores of squad cars cruised the streets, crammed with cops, shot guns protruding through the windows. Besides the uniformed police, men in civilian clothes stood about with deadly riot guns over their shoulders.

Who they were, or what authority they had no one would say. But to the residents of Watts this show of force represented an occupying army. The occupying force had little to do in Watts after 9 p.m. The streets were deserted, and the fire-gutted buildings still standing as ruins after the August uprising were empty. Next day a police official admitted, "We may have over-policed the area."

Officialdom's over-policing and over-reacting reflects their deadly fear of the ghetto eight months after the great uprising. They know that nothing fundamental has been done to erase the sources of misery and bitterness. Hated Police Chief Parker, although bedridden, is still nominally in office. Police attitudes towards the Negroes are still the same. Youth workers who wanted to enter Watts to calm the young people were roughed up and turned away



OCCUPYING TROOPS. These National Guard soldiers were mobilized to take over Watts during the uprising in August 1965

by cops. No police review board has been appointed. The anti-poverty program has become bogged down in politics and lack of funds.

Meanwhile the burned out buildings on Watts' main street are evidence that economic life has ebbed further out of the ghetto. High insurance rates is given as a reason for not rebuilding. A white owned clothing store that opened near Watts after August was burned out Tuesday night.

The desolation of Watts' business street, mirroring the desolation of ghetto life, contributed to the tension that erupted Tuesday. But some more immediate factors were at work. One was behind-the-scenes attempts to stir up animosity between Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Low wage industries operating near the ghetto have always played one group against the other. Hiring first one group, then the other, they have kept them competing against each other for jobs. When a group of Negroes in one plant joined a union the boss fired them all and hired Mexican-Americans in their place.

Mexican-Americans, who outnumber Negroes in Los Angeles, complain they are short changed in the anti-poverty programs. Hostilities thus engendered led to the shooting and wounding of two Negroes, allegedly by Mexican-Americans the day before the trouble. A Mexican-American was killed by a Negro during the outbreak. This has caused deep regret in the ghetto; for Larry Gomez, a bottled water deliveryman making his rounds, was totally unin-

involved and was well liked by all the Negroes who knew him.

Whether this tragic occurrence will tend to exacerbate the friction, or lead to efforts to draw the two minorities together cannot be predicted. Since both are victims of discrimination the two groups have much in common. In unity the two groups would be an irresistible political force in Los Angeles. Powerful reactionary forces are anxious to maintain and deepen all possible divisions, but the facts of poverty and discrimination lines both groups up on the same side in the class struggle.

While a massive display of force is the only response of officialdom to signs of discontent in the ghetto, the limitations of that policy became evident on Tuesday. Watts is only a small part of the vast sprawling Los Angeles ghetto. While occupying Watts in force the police could only patrol the rest of the area sporadically. Here small groups employed guerrilla tactics, striking at a couple of stores several miles from Watts. No attempts were made to loot, and the guerrillas had disappeared by the time firemen and police arrived.

There are signs that youth gangs who have hitherto been non-political are turning their energy to their economic and social problems. They are discussing the demands they will make to authorities, and are talking of tactics that will keep the authorities in a permanent state of alert. Officialdom would do well to listen to these new voices. The youth of the ghetto are in no mood to wait. They want solutions now.

Interview With Donald Duncan

By Patrick Kelly

Ex-Master Sergeant Donald Duncan, while in Boston March 4 to cover speaking engagements about his experiences in the war in Vietnam, granted an interview to *The Militant*. He was in the army for ten years, and a member of the army's Special Forces (Green Berets) for three years and was trained for guerrilla warfare. An intelligent and warm-hearted individual, his experiences in Vietnam led him to oppose the war there.

When asked about the future of the war, he said that the U.S. could destroy the National Liberation Front guerrilla fighters only by "destroying the Vietnamese peasantry," and that the war could last "as long as it takes them" to carry out this grizzly task.

Create Refugees

Before the U.S. bombs a village or hamlet, he said, "notice is given to the peasants to get out and anyone that stays behind is an enemy. This accounts for the steady flow of refugees into Saigon and other cities."

In spite of the bombings, however, the guerrillas keep extending their power. "Last year," Duncan said, "you could travel on the roads with safety. Today, one can't travel outside of Saigon."

Duncan had a chance to observe the graft and corruption of the Saigon regime first-hand. "Corruption is an accepted custom in all phases of government work. I can give you a good example. In the vicinity of where Tu Bo and Nguyen streets cross in Saigon, one can buy openly from sidewalk peddlers all kinds of PX goods, military products, commissary goods, etc. This stuff comes from the supplies the U.S. is sending to the south Vietnamese government."

Saigon's "Volunteers"

In discussing the Saigon regime's army, he said that General Taylor claims it is 95 percent volunteer. "The way it is volunteer," Duncan explained, "is as follows: Arrests are made in the morning hours. The arrested are given a choice — volunteer or go to jail."

I questioned him about the high casualty figures for the guerrillas given in the U.S. press. "All I can do," he said, "is give you an example of some reporting on casualties."

"A short time ago the U.S. reported 1,500 Communists killed in the Ann Lao and Bong Song valleys. The purpose of the maneuver there was to contact four battalions of Communist troops. As the story developed in the papers it was disclosed that contact was never made and the Communists slipped out of the trap. Nevertheless, the army reported that 1,500 Communists were killed. Also, it stated that 200 or more weapons were picked up."

"The question is: How could the U.S. troops kill troops that they couldn't make contact with? We also have to assume from the figures that 1,300 of the guerrillas were without weapons."

"The British soldier," I said, "was long looked upon by the colonial and semi-colonial peoples as the 'best hated' soldier in the world." Is the American GI getting that terrible reputation?

"Yes, I'm afraid so," the ex-master sergeant said. People that are looking for economic reforms in their backward countries take that viewpoint — or if they don't now they will in the future. If our present policy continues."

Discussing the U.S. claim of preserving freedom in Vietnam, Duncan said, "What freedom have we brought to Vietnam? They have less freedom now than in 1954. We would like to see an election in Vietnam — provided we could win it."

U.S. Aims

In answer to a question about whether the U.S. would try to maintain its military bases in Vietnam in the event of a cessation of hostilities, he said: "Look at Korea. There is your answer."

The question of immediate withdrawal or negotiations as the most effective and best demand for the antiwar movement came up. He said, "We have no right to be negotiating. We do have a de facto government in Vietnam, and there has to be some arrangement for withdrawing."

Duncan closed the interview with a comment on the current hit-tune, "Ballad of the Green Beret." The ex-Green Beret, who has been decorated and commended for his bravery in Vietnam, said he thought the song was being popularized to "glorify war."

Gov't Puts Dollar Bite on People for Viet War

By Herman Porter

The cost of the war in Vietnam is already having a significant effect on the U.S. economy — and the American working people are the ones who are bearing the brunt of that cost. As the war continues, we are going to feel the pinch more and more in three ways: through increased taxes, higher prices and government pressure on wages.

The large increases in military spending coming at the peak of the long business boom have already resulted in a dramatic hike in prices. Wholesale prices rose 0.7 percent in February — the sharpest rise in a single month since the Korean war. Over the last four months wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of six percent. In contrast, wholesale prices remained stable from 1958 through 1964.

Consumer prices, the prices con-

sumers pay for food, clothes, cars, etc., have risen steadily in past years even when wholesale prices were stable. If the dramatic rise in wholesale prices persists, consumer prices, and thereby the cost of living for the average American, will take an even bigger jump in the near future.

On March 15 Congress passed and Johnson signed a bill raising excise taxes on automobiles and telephone calls and "speeding up" the collection of individual and corporate income taxes. It will increase federal revenues about \$6 billion in the next year and a half. The new tax amounts to a sales tax on cars and telephone calls, which will hit the average consumer hardest while corporations are hardly touched.

The new bill is just a stop-gap measure designed to raise some quick cash to pay for the immediate costs of the war. It amounts to just a drop in the

bucket in relation to paying for a long, drawn-out, and large-scale war in Vietnam. Senator John J. Williams of Delaware put it accurately when he remarked: "This bill will see us through the 1966 elections. Then, after that, look out."

Pressure on Wages

In recent months the Johnson administration has been making more frequent and stronger mention of its "wage-price guidelines," and emphasizing the need to keep wages down. This is despite the fact that wages have risen very slowly for the past eight years — more slowly than labor productivity. The result has been rapidly growing profits and a shrinkage of the share of the economic pie going to the workers.

Government and business economists expect the cost of living to rise about three percent this year — and it will probably rise

even faster if there are unexpectedly large escalations in the war in Vietnam. The government wage "guideline" is a maximum increase in pay of only 3.2 percent a year. So what the government is actually demanding of workers is that at the most they get no real pay increase at all, if inflation is taken into account.

This last year, by contrast, big business raked in record-high profits. Johnson himself had admitted that the average increase in the profits of the owners of the U.S. economy last year was 20 percent!

The facts are that the Democratic administration's program is not only to make the sons and husbands of the working people fight and die in Vietnam, but the working people are to bear the brunt of the costs of this dirty war — while the corporations amass ever greater profits from the war spending.



Police Chief Parker